Volume LXX CHICAGO, OCTOBER 3, 1912 Number 5

# UNITY

Freedom, Fellowship and Character in Religion

Official Organ of the Congress of Religion

## TO THOSE ASLEEP

Before I slept it was the last I heard—
Oh, let me tell you, not the song of bird,
Nor thin wind playing in its harp of trees,
Nor hush of folding flowers and nodding leaves.

Before I slept it was the last I heard—
Oh, not the harmony of raining stirred
The stillness of the midnight, nor the feet
Of passing men—the city seemed asleep.

Before I slept it was the last I heard—
Not sound of man, of rain, of wind, or bird.
It was the cry of "News," a child's voice clear.
A little bedless boy called "News, sir, here!"

It was the first in the dusk dawn I heard—
The sound that brought the city's morn and stirred
The gray, volcanic quiet of the street—
A child's cry, "News." He ran with tired feet.

*L'Envoi*

*The human people came from out the doors;*
*In haste they piled up perishable stores,*
*And played at games of crossing right with wrong.*
*Oh, look, O God! The city sleeps so long.*

—*Florence Cross Kitchelt,*
The American Magazine.

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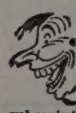

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# UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. LXX THURSDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1912. NUMBER 5.

## IN MEMORIAM.

WILLIAM BOOTH.

Founder and Commander-in-Chief of the Salvation Army.
Born 1829. Died August 20, 1912.

As theirs, the warrior knights of Christian fame,
Who for the Faith led on the battle line,
Who stormed the breach and swept through blood and flame
Under the Cross for sign.

Such was his life's crusade; and as their death
Inspired in men a purpose pure of taint—
In some great cause to give their latest breath—
So died the soldier-saint.

Nay, his the nobler warfare since his hands
Set free the thralls of misery and her brood—
Hunger and haunting shame and sin that brands—
And gave them hope renewed.

Bruised souls and bodies broken by despair,
He healed their heartache and their wounds he drest,
And drew them, so reedemed, his task to share,
Sworn to the same high quest.

Armed with the Spirit's wisdom for his sword,
His feet with tidings of salvation shod,
He knew no foes save only such as warred
Against the peace of God.

Scorned or acclaimed, he kept his harness bright,
Still, through the darkest hour, untaught to yield.
And at the last, his face toward the light,
Fell on the victor's field.

No laureled blazon rests above his bier,
Yet a great people bows its stricken head
Where he who fought without reproach or fear,
Soldier of Christ, lies dead.

—*Owen Seaman in Punch.*

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The *Literary Digest* for September 21st has an interesting analysis of "The Harvests that Promise Prosperity." The decreasing agricultural output of the United States for the last three or four years seems to have taken a turn this year. This increase, according to the article in question, is attributed to "better methods of farming and a growing attention to scientific agriculture." Less scientific journals and editors with conservative analytic powers will be busy in trying to interepret this prosperity in terms of politics. Is it not possible to make an argument either for Taft, Wilson or Roosevelt based on this increased fertility of the soil? The spell binding orator on the eve of election has been able to accomplish greater oratorical feats than this.

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Elizabeth Glendower Evans, who is now an effective campaigner in Wisconsin in the interest of woman suffrage, has an illuminating article in *The Woman's Journal* of September 21st, entitled, "Massachusetts and the Minimum Wage." In this article she well says: "The system of private bargaining has broken down when people who are giving their lives to production receive less than a living in return. Industry under such circumstances is a parasite, and it is appropriate that some method of fixing wages should be devised to the end that each industry may carry the cost of maintaining its own working force." This tersely states the foundation of the minimum wage movement. It is a complex subject, commissions and committees have a long road to go, but the journey must be made. The industrial column with the under-fed and overworked and meagerly clothed woman at the one end and the multimillionaire with his over-fed and overdressed and over-traveled family at the other end, must be readjusted. There can be no righteously made wealth that is resting upon inadequately paid labor. The minimum wage movement is a commanding one, far reaching and inevitable in its results.

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The triumphant death, the more than regal funeral, and the universal marks of respect for and confidence in General Booth are sociological and religious facts of profound significance. General Booth inaugurated a movement that was unacademic, inartistic, crude in its theology, boistrous, and to the great mass of cultivated people unattractive in its method. To our mind he lived and died in a theological creed that is either obsolete or obsolescent, and still he led a movement that from the start was triumphant. He won the confidence of the lowly and gained the respect of the well bred and high born. All this is not as paradoxical as it seems. It is not the lurid theology but the earnest man, not his creed but his faith, not his scheme of salvation but his passion for souls that won all hearts and redeemed so many lives. Measured by his intellectual conclusions he represents a negligible quantity in the thinking of the world today, measured by his splendid devotion, his courageous spirit, he takes his place in the ranks of the great helpers of men. In the cathedral of the spirit, he belongs not with the dogmatists and the theologians who framed his gory creed,—Augustine, Aquinas, Calvin and their kin, but with the lovers of men, the confessors of sinners,—Francis, Savonarola, Robertson, Beecher, Theodore Parker, Phillips Brooks and their kin. The Salvation Army that he started has worked on a foundation that

is self limited. It will pass, but the spiritual foundation, the love of souls and the readiness to serve are to remain and grow.

---

With the fall of the autumn leaves, the gathering of apples and the harvesting of corn, comes the lecturer who is abroad in the land seeking for souls to quicken and minds to enlighten. It is sad to think of the degeneracy of the platforms in public estimation. How blasé the public, particularly the city public, has grown to the visions of the prophet and the instruction of the professor! One of the most attractive of the numerous programs that find their way to the editorial desk is one that announces a course of ten lectures by professors, past and present, of the University of Chicago, to be given in Fullerton Hall of the Art Institute on successive Tuesday evenings, beginning October 15. The topics group themselves under the general head of the "Problems of the Modern City which Scientists Are Trying to Solve." Among these problems are: "The Dynamics of the City, Its Geography and Transportation," "The Development of Industry and the Social Problems of a City," "The Health of the City," "Political Parties and the City," "The Cost of Governing the City," "The Child in the City," "Education in the City," "The Administration of Justice in the Modern City," "The City and Human Values, A Summary and an Outlook," and "Group Rivalry in City Life." These in-reaching topics are to be handled by eminent men, such as Professors Goode, Hoxie, Jordan, McLaughlin, Merriam, Miss Breckenridge, George H. Mead, Pound, Tufts, and President Vincent of the University of Minnesota. All this exhibition of talent and topics is inspiring and attractive. One would think that Fullerton Hall would be crowded. We hope it will. The price of tickets is put at $5 the course, 75 cents single lectures. Cheap enough! But here comes the "fly in the ointment," the blight to the enthusiasm, the pathos of the situation and the reproach of the favored. We are told that the series is given for the benefit of the University of Chicago Settlement, the lecturers contributing their services "to the work which the Settlement is doing in the Stock Yards district." All this is another money making scheme and will be considered as such by the people who are weary of ticket peddlers and who are on the defensive, who are prepared to say "No" because "There are so many causes, don't you know!" "One cannot patronize everything!" And as a result the would-be intelligent who need enlightenment on these subjects, harden their hearts to all charitable appeals, and because "they can't give to everything," they are in danger of giving to nothing that is very well worth while. They go on chasing after their pleasures, their functions, their shows, their bridge whists, and their party and partisan enthusiasms. Why should these hard working professors, whose time is money and whose brains are their chief, if not only, assets, be called upon to contribute to the maintenance of so obvious a benefaction, so necessary a social tool as the University of Chicago Settlement in so needy and yet so productive a territory as the "Stock Yards district?" Let the lecturers go on, let the people be instructed and amused, but let the favored ease their consciences by buying tickets as a sop to Cerberus. This indirect financiering is an insidious door of petty graft which even high minded University and Church people are driven to by the logic of necessity or of experience. Chicago holds no social activity more commendable than that of the University Settlement. No territory is more needy in settlement directions than the Stock Yards district. The constituency there contribute by their lives willy nilly to the support and advancement of great fortune makers. Perhaps nothing can be done about it. Perhaps it is expecting too much of a sacrifice to the ideal to have right minded people, and still better, right hearted people, accept the grim alternative of closing settlement and church doors and going out of business until these higher needs of the community are recognized as a legitimate tax upon wealth and a binding obligation upon the community. Unfortunately there is no one left who has a right to cast the first stone, for the retort will come promptly, "They all do it, and you are another," and "How are you going to help it?"

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Of course the editor of UNITY knows full well that he takes his life in his hand whenever he expresses a political opinion. We realize that an independent journal, affecting a religious attitude and trying to deliver a religious message, undertakes a delicate and dangerous task when it speaks specifically of the questions of the hour and expresses an opinion upon the issues that so divide the community on the eve of a great election such as is now pending in the United States. Our readers can scarcely realize what the editorial perplexities are of one who assumes an independent position. The position of the "scratcher" in politics is always an exposed one. UNITY believes in the open page as well as in the open question, and it is only the limitations of space and the editorial proportions of a small weekly that prevents our printing every earnest word that comes from an honest mind. As it is we must further expose UNITY to criticism by declining to print in *extenso* either the criticisms or the approvals that come to our desk. Our editorial "When Doctors Disagree" has called forth a somewhat extended protest from an honored contributor, who urges the political truism that all political platforms are inadequate and loaded with causes that must necessarily be objectionable or even obnoxious to many of the supporters of the said platform. Our corre-

spondent urges: "What can the voter do who, finding his full political faith expressed in none of these public declarations, is yet compelled as man and citizen to make a choice, to reach a decision? Must he not, knowing very well that he is not voting for the ideal man or ideal platform, nevertheless march manfully to the polls and—vote, since not to vote in no way improves matters or lessens his responsibility? * * * * I am making no plea for political compromise or tame subservience to standards not our own, I am but asking what it is, after the season of study and reflection is past, that the plain necessity of the case demands of each and every one of us." Our correspondent proceeds to note serious faults in the Progressive platform, saying, "It is far from being an ideal document" and admits that the man at the head of it has the defects of his qualities, but urges that he has qualities. And so this correspondent, who is a woman, who has apparently given her fealty to the valiant Colonel, admits that "there is joy in making a fresh start. Notwithstanding there will be surprising disclosures on all sides, painful divisions, unlooked for separations and alliances, swift bewildering changes of many kinds." She admits that the friend of the negro "may not be satisfied with the declaration that seems to negate itself, yet likes the frank acceptance of this most despised moral issue, which every other candidate has ignored, may not we make the most and best of what is here said, not the least and worst." She admits that lovers of peace would shrink from the promised battle ships as from a blow, but choose to judge the man who promises them by other deeds and utterances of exactly opposite nature. All of this, as we understand it, is quite in accord with the spirit of UNITY. We have said in as kindly phrase as possible that we believe that the three prominent candidates for the presidency are gentlemen of probity, of power and of promise. We believe that each of the three platforms are far in advance of the parties that will be called to execute them. Another correspondent, also a woman, is more distressed over the situation because since that article she seems to have lost faith in UNITY. She says: "I have read UNITY for a number of years and while I have not always agreed with its expressions, have always felt that they were the honest convictions of its writers, but it seems evident to me in this case that prejudice has had sway and the question arises, can I read UNITY in the future with the confidence in its fairness that I have had in the past? If I cannot, its usefulness to me is gone. It is hard for me to understand why anyone working especially for the good of humanity does not recognize in the Progressive platform an open door of opportunity." We have no consolation to offer to this distressed sister other than the assurance that we belong resignedly to fallen humanity and if heretofore she has not realized the errancy of UNITY and its editor, it is high time that she should now. We claim only that liberty of dissent which is cordially granted to others, and our sisters are scarcely prepared for the high responsibility of the ballot unless they are prepared to believe in those who differ from them and to understand motives and arguments that may lead to conclusions at variance with their own. We take back nothing, we care to add nothing. A circular signed by the women of the Progressive party lies before us, enumerating in some score of counts the things for which the Progressive platform is pledged, all of which seem to us exceedingly good. Contention for which, as we understand it, UNITY has stood for years. Contentions which have represented the working of the free mind and the progressive spirits for many a year. But in this noble list of issues, most of which are already in the contentions of state and municipal politics, in which court they must be obviously solved, we miss some of the primary things for which UNITY is committed. In that woman's list of excellencies there is not one accent concerning the horrible burden of inebriety, the accursed traffic in intoxicants and the incidental debauchery of individual, municipal and national life. In that list of excellencies there is no reference to, to us, ever pressing problems of race prejudices and of justice, individual, economic, social and political of the much wronged victims of slavery, an entanglement of problems for which the nation was responsible, and the nation must help so far as lies in the power of a nation to atone for the great wrongs. And perhaps the supreme neglect is the absence of a single word condemning the awful atrocity of war, the present handicap of civilization, the deadlock of costly armament and suicidal expenditure represented by the extravagance, not to say the wickedness, of this race of nations in the creation of the devil ships of destruction, which atrocity is proven by all the economists, moralists and statesmen of the world, and still the Progressive party, which asks and receives the enthusiastic support of women, is silent on this thing. No more silent than are the other parties, no more venial than are the other political contestants. So there remains for the Independent the right and the duty as light and vision are given him, to protest, to "scratch." The Progressive party we are glad to believe is greater than any leader of that party. Its platform is a collection of reforms that must be carried out in many ways and arrived at through differing organizations and methods. Meanwhile, we extend our greetings and our sympathy to these sisters whom we have distressed, and exchange condolences over our disappointments and congratulations, over our power to differ and our independence in statement and our common property in the ideals and the hopes of progressive humanity.

## Some Timely Books

The air is thick with political rhetoric that likes to evade disagreeable subjects. Nobody wants to discuss anti-militarism just now. The three leading parties have nothing to say about disarmament and peace treaties and the pacification of the Panama Canal. After election doubtless there will be a return to the oratory of peace and those who have voted with and for two new battle ships and the parties who have declared for increase of armament and enlargement of the army will want to forget the ante-election forgetfulness.

Notwithstanding this suspicion on the part of American politics and politicians, the press, with a deliberation that is provoking to the sensationalist, has been putting before the people things to read that will command attention of the thoughtful and eventually bring confusion to the short cut political movement which hopes to evade the hot subjects of war in the interest of some more immediate if not lasting good.

Such a book is "The Great Illusion, A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to Their Economic and Social Advantages," by Norman Angell (G. P. Putnam's Sons). This book has come to its third revised and enlarged edition. It has been published simultaneously in the following ten great national centers: London, New York, Paris, Leipsic, Copenhagen, Madrid, Borgä (Finland), Leyden, Turin, Stockholm, Tokio. This Englishman, with both an American and Parisian experience in journalism, the author of "Patriotism Under Three Flags," has, it would seem, said almost a final word in the politics of militarism. He has discussed "The Economics of the Case," "The Human Nature of the Case," "The Practical Outcome," each part of which is bristling with arguments and facts that seem to give the final "knock-out" to the man of the buttons, lace and sword. If Senators and Representatives, governors and presidential candidates would only stop long enough to read this book, it might give them courage to say "no" and vote "no" and stay by their "noes."

Much simpler, shorter but none the less convincving, is David Starr Jordan's last contribution to the literature of peace, entitled "Unseen Empire, A Study of the Plight of Nations That Do Not Pay Their Debts" (American Unitarian Association). In his "The Blood of the Nation" and "The Human Harvest" he showed how war impoverishes the blood, is a disturbing element in eugenics—the entailment of inferior fatherhood to the coming generations. This little book, he tells us, is a preliminary survey of the elements of euthenics, the science of well rearing, showing how the financial impoverishment of the rank and file of the people by the cost of war and war armament affects living peoples. The Unseen Empire of Finance, The Unseen Empire of Debt, The Control of Nations, Sea Power, Syndicates for War, War To-Day, Retrenchment, The Passing of War, are the chapter headings, with a formidable, mind clearing appendix bristling with figures and diagrams. It is a little book of less than two hundred pages, written with the marvelous condensing skill of Dr. Jordan.

Whatever the political estimate of William Jennings Bryan may be, and of course that will vary with the political bias of the individual, it is hard just before election time for any man to deal kindly, much less fairly, with a man on the other side of his own prejudices and preferences. But all will agree that William Jennings Bryan, who has been in the limelight of strenuous politics for nearly twenty years, still holds the respect of the American citizen and the confidence of his neighbors. His position as newspaper reporter in Chicago and foremost delegate, a dangerous possibility in the Baltimore convention, makes "A Tale of Two Conventions," by William Jennings Bryan (Funk & Wagnalls) a timely book, one that may well be read by every voter before election time. It would inevitably be a contribution to thought and an element in the making up of one's mind on the part of such a reader.

"The American Occupation of the Philippines 1898-1912," by James H. Blount, officer U. S. Volunteers in the Philippines and for four years U. S. District Judge in the Philippines (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is a formidable work to the hurried reader, measured by its size, a stately book of six hundred and sixty-four pages. The frontispiece shows the capture of Aguinaldo, March 23, 1901, and the underlining says: "The Central Fact of the American Military Occupation." The account of this capture, given in calm, clear phrase on page 338, brings a blush of shame again to the cheek, and one is humiliated that an American general in the war department report could say that this capture, the result of a subtle, skillful, sneaking treachery, such as would do honor to a "Big Indian Chief" in his paint and belt of scalps, was "the most momentous single event of the year." This treachery brought to General Funston a brigadier-generalship in the regular army. Further comment on this book dealing with first-hand material, the testimony of one who ought to know whereof he writes, must be withheld until after closer reading. Doubtless the Filipinos will live to witness to the truth of the old Bible text: "He maketh the wrath of man to praise Him," and much good will follow indirectly in the wake of these American battleships, as there has followed in the wake of the British ships of war into India, but the primal indignity to civilization must ever remain and will grow clearer with the disillusions of the centuries to come. When Commodore Perry sailed away from the Japanese harbor in 1854, he anticipated historical

comment upon the failure of Commodore Dewey to sail out of Manilla Bay in 1898.

It is not so very far from the hot and high questions of current politics indicated by the above book to Allen Hoben's book on "The Minister and the Boy" (University of Chicago Press). Hoben is of course the boy's man in Chicago. The title page says he is Associate Professor of Practical Theology in the University of Chicago, a title which rather shocks the reader. We can hardly think of Hoben as a professor, still less as a professor of theology, however practical. It is easier to think of him as the field secretary of the Chicago Juvenile Protective Association, but that is too stately a title for so supple a man. Of course a professor in the University of Chicago must know his books and know how to use them, but this man has studied his subject on the hoof, so to speak. The preface tells us that the subject was beaten out in actual practice in connection with the Union Church in Waupun, Wisconsin, and the First Baptist Church of Detroit, Michigan. Anyhow, here is a chance for the minister to see how much there is to be found in the boy, and next to hearing Hoben is the inspiration of reading this book. We do not believe that Hoben has said the last word concerning the boy. We distrust some of his enthusiasms, but he has certainly said a timely word. He has grappled an important subject in a right wholesome fashion and it is easier for all of us to find our way by the help of this guide book. We cannot close without raising one question. Must we, in order to reach a boy, revert to the "big Indian" attitude, habits and slang? The closing ritual of the wigwam wherein the Church Boy's Club is gathered, calls upon the "Braves" in response to the "Chief" to rise when they are told they are about to leave the camp fire and they join hands and repeat the covenant: "With our Chief and one another: To be true men, to protect the weak, to honor woman, to make the most of life, and to endeavor to please God" and then they sing the national anthem and join in the following "Yell!!!"

Who are we?
Chee Poo Kaw,
Waupun Wigwam,
Rah, Rah, Rah!!

From such popular, not to say unphilosophic interpretation of the Gospel, it is a pleasure to turn to Joseph Fort Newton's "The Eternal Christ, Studies in the Life of Vision and Service" (Fleming H. Revell Co.). Mr. Newton has endeared himself to UNITY readers by his frequent contributions to both our contributed and editorial columns, and also as the author of "David Swing: Poet-Preacher," and the valuable contribution to the Lincoln literature in his "Lincoln and Herndon." Our readers know that Mr. Newton is a Twentieth Century liberal, not to say radical, interpreter of the mystics, and these studies of The Prophetic Vision, The Unity of Faith, The Culture of the Soul, and the Living Word of Truth, are along the lines pursued by the seers and not the debaters, by the witnesses and not the investigators. The new adventure is the rehabilitation of the Eternal Christ in the thinking, living and doing of the better life and the nobler yearnings of today.

Speaking of mystics, they come in pairs to our table. "The Gates of Knowledge, with an additional chapter entitled Philosophy and Theosophy," by Rudolf Steiner (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is a book cast in more philosophic or metaphysical mode that may well companion Mr. Newton's book. Mr. Steiner is the author of the "Mystics of the Renaissance, and Their Relation to Modern Thought," and in this book he discusses The Four Modes of Knowledge, The Ocult Functions of Sleep, The Pupil and His Teacher, Inspiration, Inspiration and Intuition, and Philosophy and Theosophy.

"Old Testament Stories, A Manual for Teachers of Young Children," by Charles H. Corbett, is one more effort to tell Bible stories, if not in terms of one syllable, still in such easy terms as to attract and hold the attention of teacher. Perhaps this book is a help, perhaps the greatest help lies in the table of contents which will lead the teacher through the story land of Israel, and then if the teacher will read the story itself and read this schoolmaster's outline, and then forget as much of it as possible and go to her class, she may get results. But the unique and really valuable part of the Corbett work is his Pupil's Notebook that accompanies it, an ingenious, artistic, not to say sumptuous, contrivance to tempt the creative hand of the child. Here are pictures to be pasted, blank spaces for notes and for illuminations, with a box of bright colored pencils. If the teacher of the Sunday School can afford this necessarily somewhat costly outfit, and if not committed to co-operative work on lines more coherent and logical than Mr. Corbett's list, the experiment will be very interesting and probably prove delightfully successful.

Janet Jennings, Monroe, Wisconsin, has done a simple thing on high lines. She has tried to tell the story of "The Blue and the Gray" as written in fiery characters on the sad battle fields of the Civil War. Winchester, Atlanta, Petersburg, Appomatox, Grant and Lee, Johnston, Sherman and Sheridan. A modest little book, but with a holy aim, conceived in the spirit of true patriotism. She, looking down the mists of forty-five years, seeing through a glass darkly the men who wore the Blue and the Gray, dedicates her work to those "men who were brave under two flags and are now loyal to one." It is a book we commend to the fireside of the Daughters of the Confederacy

as well as to the Relief Corps. We congratulate the author for the spirit in which the book is conceived and the simple efficiency of the execution.

This list of timely books began with those who dealt with unwelcome subjects; we will end the list with a book loaded with the consolations and the reconciliations of life. Such is the function of the poet. We have already noted with pleasure the commendable work of Professor Walter C. Bronson of Brown University on English Poems in four splendid volumes, beginning with the Old English and ending with the Nineteenth Century. Here in "American Poems (1625-1892)" (University of Chicago Press), he has carried his work into the American poetry fields. This is a book of selections with illustrative and explanatory notes and a valuable bibliography arranged alphabetically. Some of the authors are disposed of with a line. The bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson overreaches two pages. Of course any anthology of this kind will be unsatisfactory to the lover of poets and poetry, for he finds not his own but the other man's favorites. But it is also stimulating, for it recommits the man to his old favorites and perhaps, though not often, calls upon him to revise his judgment, or at least examine into the merits of the poems of his neglect. One wonders why, without malice of forethought, there are sixteen titles to Emerson, twenty-two titles to Walt Whitman, eighteen to Lowell, twenty-two to Wordsworth, only two to Joaquin Miller, seven to Emily Dickinson, and five to Lanier, and they do not include some of the indispensables to the Lanier lover. But why border on a criticism that seems carping. Trying is the task of a collector, gracious ought to be the spirit of the recipient. We thank the Professor of English Literature in Brown University for this added volume of noble poets born out of the strain and stress, the hurry and worry of a young people, of a new country, whose people had to fell forests, drain the marshes, build the railroads, drive out the wolves, fight the mosquitoes and live at times on the quinine that ameliorated the malaria.

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THE WAVES OF BREFFNY.

The grand road from the mountain goes shining to the sea,
And there is traffic on it and many a horse and cart;
But the little roads of Cloonagh are dearer far to me
And the little roads of Cloonagh go rambling through my heart.

A great storm from the ocean goes shouting o'er the hill,
And there is glory in it, and terror on the wind;
But the haunted air of twilight is very strange and still,
And the little winds of twilight are dearer to my mind.

The great waves of the Atlantic sweep storming on their way,
Shining green and silver with the hidden herring shoal;
But the little waves of Breffny have drenched my heart in spray,
And the little waves of Breffny go stumbling through my soul.

—*Eva Gore-Booth.*

## Peace Trustees and the Armament Craze

By Edwin D. Mead.

Prominent place has been given lately to the statement that the trustees of the Carnegie Peace Endowment did not believe that the time had come to advocate the reduction of armaments. President Eliot, who is himself one of the trustees, is reported to have said this in some of his recent speeches in China and Japan. I do not know how accurately he is reported, and we should be slow to believe that he said it without careful qualifications. The unqualified statement, so widely circulated, is of course a most misleading statement, and a mischievous one. There are undoubtedly differences of opinion among the Carnegie trustees, as among other leaders of the peace movement, as to how the reduction of armaments is to be brought about and as to the points where the campaign against the war system may most profitably be directed. Some of the leaders believe that the war machinery will be eliminated or even reduced only as the machinery for unreserved arbitration and the judicial settlement of international disputes is fully perfected and has by its success and regularity won the firm confidence of the peoples; and these urge that effort should be concentrated exclusively on the establishment of this legal system, before which armaments and the war system will gradually die a natural death. Some believe that the limitation of armaments can be brought about only proportiontely by the joint action of the powers; while others, like the majority of Democrats in the last Congress, believe that some favorably situated nation like our own, or some say France, might boldly take the lead, cut down its extravagant expenditures rapidly, and trust that the rest would be glad enough to greet the signal and follow the example. Anybody familiar with the list of the Carnegie trustees recognizes representatives there of all these opinions; but to say that the trustees do not advocate the reduction of armaments is of course ridiculous.

Senator Root is the president of the trustees, and far more influential than any other in determining the Endowment's policy; and we need only recall his strong words on the eve of the last Hague Conference, when he was secretary of state, to know where he stands in the matter. "There aught to be an earnest effort to reach some agreement under which the enormous expenditure of money and the enormous withdrawal of men from productive industry for warlike purposes may be reduced or arrested. The effort may fail in this conference, as it failed in the first; but if it fails, one more step will have been taken toward ultimate success. Long continued and persistent effort is always necessary to bring mankind into conformity with great ideals, every great advance has been upon stepping-stones of failure; and a good fight bravely lost for a sound principle is always a victory." He urged the peace societies to persistent efforts to create a strong public opinion which should reinforce the government in whatever it might be able to attempt for the cause; and this attitude of Mr. Root is the attitude of his most representative and influenial associates.

Most would agree that second to Mr. Root in influence upon the Carnegie board is President Butler of Columbia University, who in one of his recent Mo-

honk addresses pours out his sarcasm upon those who urge that "until we reach an ideal state of things as concerns arbitration we must continue to tax our great modern industrial nations, struggling as they are under the burdens of popular education and of economic and social betterment, in order that death dealing instrumentalities may be increased and multiplied and the several nations thereby protected from invasion and attack." He ridicules the whole idea of this omnipresent danger of invasion and attack, declares the situation needs less the arguments of a logician than "the caustic wit of Mr. Dooley," confesses his belief that the big navy craze is kept up largely by men who "make something" out of it, and urges sensible nations to have done with it and apply the money they are betrayed into voting so lavishly for "great ships and guns and forts" to worthy, constructive and necessary ends.

A[1]. President Butler had written just before to Congressman Tawney, who was working so earnestly to rouse our people to a sense of what it meant for the government to be spending two-thirds of its total income for military purposes, as follows: "At a time when the minds of reasonable and instructed men the world over are turning more and more toward the judicial settlement of international differences and the cultivation of international good-will through steadily increasing commercial, financial and educational relations, it seems little short of madness to ask to have public money voted to multiply huge engines of war and destruction. I sincerely hope that the House of Representatives will set its face like a flint against the craze for a big navy and turn its attention rather to that legislation which will curb privilege, more securely establish political and social justice, and open the way to a larger and greater comfort for the mass of our population."

One would like to hear Andrew D. White descant upon the proposition that the time has not yet come to advocate the reduction of armaments. One would like to hear Congressman Slayden, another of the Carnegie trustees, make a speech about it. Indeed he did make a speech about it in Congress last month in the concrete form of opposing any appropriation this year for new battleships. "It has been charged," he exclaimed in his energetic arraignment of our naval extravagances, "that those of us who are not in favor of building two battleships are lacking in true Americanism and in patriotic devotion to our country.

"When, in the name of God, did these critics get to be judges of true Americanism and true patriotism?" He denounced vehemently, as false to the spirit and wishes of the house, the scheme of the big navy members, who, failing to get their two battleships, would make the one they did get "the biggest, the fastest and the most expensive battleship ever built."

A[2]. Congressman Slayden made a yet more important protest in the 1910 debate of against "this wild expansion of our armament, now engaged in an insane competition with the military nations of Europe," and denouncing alike "the expense and the wickedness of the armed policy of peace," expressed the opinion that "if great and selfish commercial interests were not behind it, the whole expensive scheme would speedily collapse." Passages might be multiplied indefinitely to illustrate the attitude of this energetic Trustee upon the question of the limitation of armament and our own particular duty in the matter.

One recalls the strong denunciations of the great naval appropriations by Hon. John Sharp Williams in the senate; and one might continue quoting from others of the Carnegie trustees. No one of their whole number has had larger or more varied diplomatic experience or given closer attention to all international issues than Hon. John W. Foster, at one time secretary of state; and this is what he said in his last speech at Mohonk, which it was my privilege to hear:

"It is of equal importance with the general acceptance of the principle of arbitration that some measure shall be adopted to put a stop to this ever increasing competition of the great powers in the enlargement of their standing armies and navies. It is a mockery of sincerity and consistency to solemnly enter into treaty compacts for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful arbitration, while the high contracting parties continue to strain to the utmost their taxing capacity and their credit in preparations for war. I recognize that the limitation of armaments is encompased with many difficulties, but it is no more impossible of realization than a general arbitration treaty seemed a few years ago. I earnestly hope our government's delegates to The Hague will take the lead in bringing about an agreement among the great powers for a limitation and, if possible, a reduction in armaments."

But it ought to be a work of supererogation to marshal utterances of trustees of this great Endowment for international peace to controvert the general statement that the trustees do not believe the time has come to advocate the reduction of armaments. It would be startling indeed if these recognized leaders in the war against the war system were to be silent upon this cardinal and urgent issue; as it is mournful if any individual among them advocates such silence. Doubly pitiful would it be for any responsible American leader in the camgaign for international reason to shrink from the struggle against the monstrous and ever growing national armaments which are crushing the peoples, when our Congress itself has been stirred to authorize officially the creation of a commission to consider the expediency of "utilizing international agencies for the purpose of limiting the armaments of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace."

It was only by desperate efforts and the senate's subserviency that the big navy men were able to carry their reduced program through Congress last month, the majority of the house being strongly in opposition. It would certainly be a melancholy paradox if at the very moment that the politicians, feeling the public pulse, began to move forward, the directors of the work for peace suddenly moved backward. We may be quite sure that we shall see nothing of the sort. Were such a thing possible among the trustees of the Carnegie Peace Endowment, one can imagine the "ginger" there would be in Mr. Carnegie's own comments. His numerous peace addresses have touched few subjects more trenchantly than the big navy craze. When he was recently invited to con-

tribute to the $10,000 silver service which Pittsburgh proposes to give to the armored cruiser "Pennsylvania," rechristened as the "Pittsburgh," he cabled: "Pittsburgh's triumphs are those of peace. She receives no honor from engines of destruction bearing her name. On the contrary, I feel that she is degraded thereby. I regard the council's contribution of a silver service a wrongful waste of the people's money."

Whether any of us counts such a word extreme or not, all of us should take seriously to heart its central truth, that there is a more excellent way of preserving peace than by what President Butler rightly calls "the madness of voting public money to multiply huge engines of war and destruction." And if ever there was a time for the peace workers of the United States and Great Britain especially to inculcate this lesson, it is this time of the approaching centennial of the disarmament of the Canadian frontier. That one disarmed frontier, the scene before of endless war, has been for the century, because disarmed, the safest frontier in the world. Let us make the centennial teach the nations that the efficient instrument of peace is good will and not guns, and that if we would live together as safe neighbors we can do it best not by buying bulldogs, for the Panama doorstep or any other, but by acting like gentlemen.

## President Butler on the Armament Craze

There is one type of citizen that must be mentioned, because the type is numerous, influential and important. This is the type which holds the view that, of course, international arbitration is a thing greatly to be desired; of course we must all hope for the day when that at present distant, impracticable and wholly praiseworthy ideal shall be reached; but that, until that day—which is probably to be the Greek Kalends—we must continue to tax our great modern industrial nations, struggling as they are under the burdens of popular education and of economic and social betterment, in order that death-dealing instrumentalities may be increased and multiplied and the several nations thereby protected from invasion and attack. This procedure, so the curious argument runs, is to hasten the coming of international arbitration and to promote it. Civilized men, it appears, are to be shot or starved into agreeing to arbitrate.

This point of view requires for adequate treatment, not the arguments of a logician, but the pencil of a Tenniel or the caustic wit of a Mr. Dooley. Look at the situation of the world today as this type of man presents it to us. Of course, the United States is a peaceful nation; of course, Great Britain is a peaceful nation; of course, Germany and France and Japan are peaceful nations; but, therefore, because they propose to attack nobody they must so strengthen their defences, so multiply their navies and increase their armies that nobody can successfully attack them. Who, pray, is left to attack these peaceful and law-abiding nations if, as we are assured by everybody—both leaders of governments, the molders of public opinion and the substantially unanimous press of the world—they do not propose to attack each other, unless it be an army of white bears from the newly discovered North Pole or a procession of elephants and cameleopards from the jungles of Central Africa? The gullibility of mankind was never more conclusively demonstrated than by the widespread acceptance of this huge joke, which, unlike most other jokes, has to be paid for at a literally stupendous price. Children must go untaught, sanitary inspection and regulation must go unprovided, better workingmen's dwellings must be postponed, provisions for recreation and enlightenment must be put off, conditions accompanying labor, poverty and old age must go indefinitely without amelioration, in order that in this twentieth century men and nations who, looking in the glass, call themselves intelligent and practical, may support, maintain and propagate this stupendous joke! Either the whole world is being deluded by a witticism of cosmic proportions or some important persons are conspiring to tell an awful lie.

I am one of those who look for the simplest motives in explanation of action or of conduct. My impression is that somebody makes something by reason of the huge expenditures in preparation for war. Have you ever noticed that about the time that appropriations for military purposes are under consideration in Congress, in the House of Commons, in the Chamber of Deputies, or in the Reichstag, or just before such a time, hostilities are always on the point of breaking out in two or three parts of the world at once? Just at these times war prophets begin to see visions and to dream dreams, and the poor, gullible people rush off to their cyclone cellars and shout timorously to their representatives to vote at once and as much as possible in order that great ships and guns and forts may be built to protect them from their fears. We have done of late some helpful and illuminating legislative inquiry in this country. It might be worth while to have the same sort of ability that has so brillianty exposed to our repelled and astonished gaze other forms of political chicanery and graft, make some measurement of the sincerity and disinterestedness of the lively type of patriotism which accompanies these military and naval debates the world over. Is the propelling motive for them to be found in economics or in psychology? My strong impression is that while both of those admirable sciences are represented in the make-up of that propelling motive, economics is not always the less important of the two.—*From President Butler's address at the Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration,* 1910.

## Correspondence

Dear UNITY:—

Some time ago an editorial in your columns contained a plea for the Circuit which I have the honor to serve in Georgia and Florida. As a direct result I have received two nice shipments of books and periodicals from Illinois. One came from the Lincoln Centre in Chicago and the other from Lake Forest. These gifts have been a splendid help to me and I know the people whom I serve have been helped. Among other things I found a package of UNITIES and I have carefully read them during my leisure moments. There is something about UNITY that is uplifting. Like the coal shoveled into a locomotive, you cannot tell which lump does the work, but you know that taken altogether

the steam is produced and the engine runs and carries its load. In like manner I cannot tell just what particular article in UNITY does the work, but after reading a copy of it a man feels an inward enthusiasm to go out and help someone to a higher plane of life. Your work must be profoundly interesting in a city like Chicago. I have roamed over its vast area to some extent and it is a small nation in itself. Its tremendous business, its varied population and its changing scenes offer an opportunity for the man whose heart is touched with the desire to aid mankind in its daily struggle upwards. *"Dominus vobiscum,"* and may you live many years to do the work you have commenced. REV. F. M. MCHALE.

*Greensboro, Fla., Sept.* 5, 1912.

N. B.—We hope that the above letter will bring forth more seed available to the hand of this skilled sower in neglected but fertile fields. EDITOR.

## The Study Table

### Book Notes

From Macmillan Company I am in receipt of two important volumes. The first of these is "Government By All the People; or, The Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall as Instruments of Democracy," by Professor Delos F. Wilcox. Mr. Wilcox's book is admirably outlined and foresighted by his preface. He works on the proposition that an irrepressible conflict of political ideas is going to make a total realignment of political parties. He believes that the quarrel is fundamental; that is, that it concerns the very nature of government, whether it is a public enterprise or a private industry. It is a very practical book, leaving out a deal of history that does not need repeating, and giving us the very kernel of the matter. His discussion of the recall of judges is fair and frank. He sees, what Jefferson saw, that we are much more likely to lose our liberties through the courts than through the executive branch of government. Radicalism, that is straightforward honesty, he considers safer than conservatism, which is generally understood to be a clinging to old lines, simply because they are old—either in church or State. Mr. Wilcox very shrewdly tenders thanks for unconscious help to Joseph Cannon, William Barnes, Jr., and especially to James R. Day, Chancellor of Syracuse University, and Nicholas Murray Butler, whom he interprets as "the intrepid rear guard of retreating paganism." The other book from Macmillan's is one of the volumes of the great Russian novelist, Dostoevsky. I have not yet read this volume, but am going to enjoy it as I have time. I have dipped into it enough to know that notwithstanding its Russianisms it ought to be read by those who wish to understand the world soul. I do not like to be confined to seeing life and comprehending all the problems of life through the Puritan spectacles which are a part of my inheritance. The only Russian author whom I have so far thoroughly enjoyed is Gogol. I hope to be as thoroughly satisfied with the teachings of Dostoevsky. I shall have more to say about this author in the future.

From V. W. Huebsch of New York I am in receipt of "Folk Festivals," by Mary Master Needham. This is a book which we needed. We ought to revive or invent a lot of social events to accompany the new movement countryward. Our new country life demands more co-operation, leading to a more thoroughly established and localized love of Nature. I mean that every part of our country has features that ought to be embodied in family life and in individual character. The author of this little book will help us very much. She gives us outlines of festivals and pageants for all holidays; describes the most important European fetes; shows how to link the school and the family and the community in social sport, as in the playground movement, and shows the effect of all these things on character. I hope that this book will get a thoroughly good reading and a practical application.

Our friend Dole sends me a capital little book called "The Burden of Poverty," published by B. W. Huebsch of New York in the Art of Life Series, at fifty cents for each volume. Anything that comes from Charles F. Dole is worth reading. He begins with a frank confession that it is a rank assumption to call this a civilized age. This is an assumption simply because we are loaded on with a lot of old medieval rummage, including a heavy weight of deviltry. We are losing faith in the devil, and have not anything like as much confidence in deviltry as we had fifty years ago, but there is enough of it left to build armored cruisers, to rob foreign countries if possible of their industries, to take the taxes of the poor to strengthen the rich, and in other ways to keep us from foresight and subject us to hindsight. The problem of modern poverty is well stated, and it cannot be too often or too openly repeated that where there is legitimately twelve hundred dollars for every one of our people, or six thousand for every family, most of it is in the hands of a dozen billionaires. We have an upper strata; we say upper by grace of the devil, that revels in wealth and pollution, sells out for pelf and self indulgence, is ready to sacrifice bodies and souls at so much a head. We have also a growing mass of humanity that will not submit much longer to this superimposed heathenism. A better day is breaking. We are not preaching socialism at all; but we do preach and will preach the infinite depth and height of the Golden Rule. It is a possible law, and we are going to live by it. The new age is one of brotherhood and co-operation. It will take a good while to slough off the false social notions that we have, and especially a long while to create a decent motherhood and a righteous fatherhood; but we are gaining right merrily. Such books as "The Burden of Poverty" are on the right side and are helpful.

"Youth and the Race," by Professor Swift of Washington University, is a book thoroughly fresh, strong and scientific. The author has tried to show how the schools can help transform into directive forces for good the instincts which we have been in the habit of calling traces of original sin—that is, our New England fathers had the habit. In other words, he wants to show how to make a man out of those very tendencies in his nature which is supposed to show that he is a little devil. This may be called a flank movement on a boy, and a method of carrying him to righteousness by morally outwitting him. His chapters are discussions of The Spirit of Adventure; The

Ways of Youth; The Chance to Grow; The School and the Community; Vagaries of the School; Palaces in Moral Training; The Spirit of the Gang; and The Release of Mental Forces. The author is one of those men, fortunately an increasing number, that have broken free from traditional methods. We did not need his book to make sure that the majority of teachers are utterly unfitted for the profession. Nor are we yet free from that dreadful class of teachers who "teach a few years," to pay up college debts, or to make up their minds what they will do for a living. The book is a compact mass of live thought; apothegm after apothegm crowding the pages. I thought I would quote a few passages, but the fact is the whole book needs quoting. He insists that incorrigible boys make the most tractable and teachable boys when placed in a stimulating environment, and treated as individuals with personal rights. I have laid the book up in reach of my hand for constant reference. It is published by the Scribners, at $1.50.

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I had been reading, or rather rereading, "The Boss of Little Arcady." I had been feeling as a deep conviction the fact that a new kind of novel was inevitable. The old style of story book with a love string drawn through it will of course still be written; and occasionally there will flash out something really wonderful in this line like "Lorna Doone" and "John Uhl;" but it is these books of genius that have been foretelling the change. The new novel is going to be thoroughly scientific in its structure, but in its material also. I think it will involve in all cases more or less of the autobiographical. The author should content himself with producing one book of this sort, into which he breathes the very best of his own life. If he have the itch of writing after that, let him turn to other topics and write history or adventure. The novel should contain the soul, the life, the growth of the author—and if that life and growth be not worth the writing, let it stay unwritten, or remain on the publisher's shelves. That is just where a novel by Albert Edwards, and entitled "A Man's World," will not stay. It is a book that could not have been written by anyone who had not felt the social struggle of the past few years. It walks close to the brink of temptation; faces the inevitable struggles of the growing freedom of body and soul; touches problem after problem that are common to us all, throws light on most of them, and finally it constitutes a tremendously interesting book, without being a mere love story. Have we overdone this business of love yarns? The book is timely also because its most vital chapters are harassed with graft and municipal evils, illustrated just now in New York City. It is a book that ought to have been written, and that ought to be read. It is published by the Macmillans.

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Israel Zangwell's new book, "The Next Religion," lies on my table. This is one of Mr. Zangwell's daring books, a play in three acts. I am not sure but that our next stage of preaching is to be something of this sort. Whether one man shall be allowed to stand up in the pulpit and interpret Jesus Christ, or whether it shall be three or four—that is perhaps a new problem. A fair and square discussion of a question that concerns manhood and fate might be worth the while, but to take for granted that any interpretation of Jesus Christ given us by a football expert, a theological whipper snapper twenty years old, is absolute truth, that is going to strain and break the faith of the coming generation. If the pulpit is going to be a power it must be a power of manhood and love and honor, and not a pulpit of dogmatism. I believe in Jesus' gospel as marvelously ahead of its times, and for the most part substantial for today, but the drippings that I catch out of the average sermon constitute nothing more than a pitiful wail of a half born soul to see something correctly, or at least to earn his living by preaching an old creed. We have got to sweep out a lot of this old stuff and get somewhere in range of Zangwell's next religion. This book does not cover the case as I should like to see it covered, for the new religion is something that is going to grapple with the human race in the most astounding way. It will do a lot of revolutionizing and evolutionizing, and carry this dear old world a whole stadium nearer God. I mean by God that *life* which Jesus said he came to bring to light. My dear UNITY readers, we have not yet touched the hem of the new religion. The world is full of narrowness and meanness, and the worst of it all is baptized as religion. Read this book of Mr. Zangwell's and half a dozen of you write to UNITY what you think about it.

E. P. POWELL.

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## In the High Court of American Public Opinion

*Judge*: "The next case!"

*Prosecutor*: "This man, your Honor, is charged with violence. He speaks in the public streets to excited crowds. He talks about class-consciousness and the solidarity of labor. He openly defends the strikers in the mills yonder. He denounces our courts as guilty of injustice. He appeals day and night to the spirit of unrest and discontent among our people. This man, your Honor, is a common agitator, and is dangerous to the peace of our city."

*Judge*: "Have you anything to say?"

*Defendant*: "Your Honor, I am a socialist."

*Judge*: "Two years in state's prison! The next case!"

*Prosecutor*: "This man, your Honor, is also charged with violence. He has dispersed, with policemen's clubs, militia bayonets and fire hose, peaceful assemblies of strikers, has arrested and beaten their leaders, and now holds them in prison without trial. He has seized the more conspicuous agitators, stripped them and whipped them, forced them to kiss the flag and sing the national anthem, and railroaded them out of town. He has handicapped the editor of the labor newspaper and destroyed his press. He has invaded the homes of private citizens and searched them without warrant. He has shot men and women in the streets and squares. He is guilty of every offence that is known against public order and the rights of men."

*Judge*: "Have you anything to say?"

*Defendant*: "Your Honor, I am the chairman of the Vigilance Committee of Law and Order—"

*Judge*: "Excused! The next case!"

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY **UNITY** ESTABLISHED 1878

**The Unity Publishing Company**

**Abraham Lincoln Centre**

**$2.00 PER ANNUM**

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*"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under act of March 3, 1879."*

# THE FIELD

*"The World is my Country, to do Good is my Religion."*

**Proposed Program for a Religious Congress of**

**THE NATIONAL FEDERATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERALS.**
(Organ. in 1900.)

**Co-operating with**

**THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA**

**in Rochester, N. Y., in early February, 1913.**

**First Day, 2 p. m.**—Business Meeting of the National Federation of Religious Liberals. Reports of the President, Treasurer, Secretary and Committees. Resolutions and Testimonials. New Business. General Discussion.

**7:30 p. m.**—Opening Session of the Congress. Brief Devotional Service. Welcome by the Chairman of the Local Committee. Brief Response by the Presidents of the National Federation and Free Religious Association.

First Topic of the Congress: **"State and Church in America."**

1. Origins and Characteristics of the American Doctrine of State and Church.
2. Constitutional, Court, and Legislative Enactments concerning the relations between State and Church in America.

A leading jurist.

**Second Day, 9:30 a. m.**—Second Topic of the Congress: **"The Contributions of the Churches of America towards Religious and Civil Liberty.**

1. The Congregationalist Contribution.
2. The Baptist Contribution.
3. The Presbyterian Contribution.
4. The Quaker Contribution.

Discussion.

**2 p. m.**—Topic of the Morning continued.

5. The Jewish Contribution.
6. The Roman Catholic Contribution.
7. The Unitarian Contribution.
8. The Contribution of Religious Free Thinkers.

Discussion.

**8 p. m.**—Social Reception, Addresses, Music.

**Third Day, 9:30 a. m.**—Third Topic of the Congress: **"Public Legislation and Religion."**

1. The American State and Marriage and Divorce Laws. Discussion.
2. The American Public School and Religious Instruction. Discussion.

**2 p. m.**—Fourth Topic of the Congress: **"Social Discords and their Ethical Solution."**

1. Race Conflicts and Human Brotherhood. Discussion.
2. Industrial Strife and Economic Justice. Discussion.
3. International Wars and World-Peace. Discussion.

**9 p. m.**—Closing Session. Last Topic: **"Denominational Differences and the Fellowship of the Spirit."**

A Symposium with 12 or more 5-minute speakers representing as many denominations.

## LETTER FROM PRESIDENT BUTLER TO CONGRESSMAN TAWNEY, MARCH, 1910.

I write to thank you for your courageous and statesmanlike utterance, printed in the New York Sun of this morning, in regard to what I can only describe as a preposterous proposal to have the United States government build the largest and most powerful navy in the world. At a time when the minds of reasonable and instructed men the world over are turning more and more toward the judicial settlement of international differences and the cultivation of international good will through steadily increasing commercial, financial, and educational relations, it seems little short of madness to ask to have public money voted to multiply huge engines of war and destruction. We now have a navy which is ample for defense, and it never should be used for any other purpose. On every side we are faced with insistent demands for the improvement of the social conditions of the great mass of the people, to satisfy which will cost large sums. If these demands are successfully met, however, the results will repay their costs tenfold. To divert pub-

**The Unitarian Advance**

**A Monthly Magazine of Progress in Religion**

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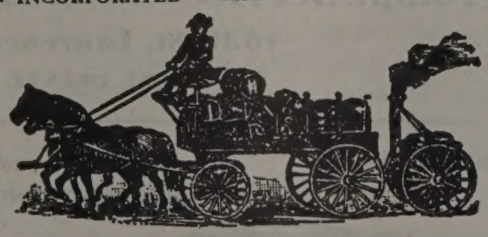

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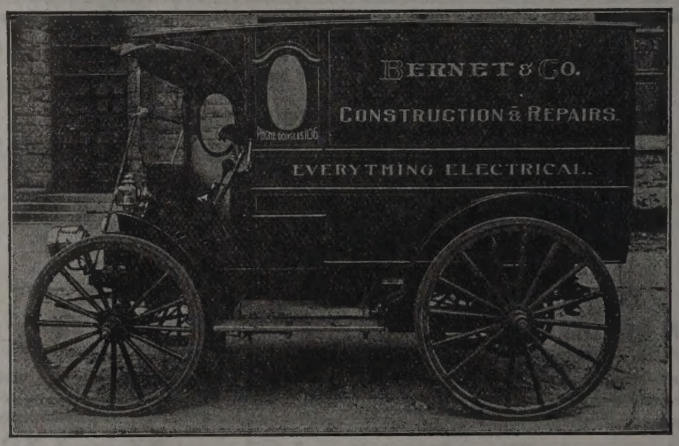


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